Will the Europeans allow it?' And so (instead of bringing a charge of witchcraft) he sues his kinsman for a shilling. Later he sues him for a cow, and some even get a court order to collect the cow. Another man in such a position may claim a legal separation from his kinsmen and their reciprocal debts in cattle are wiped. 'It's a case indeed, that!'

Mwanunda came from Bungwe, not far from the administrative centre, Tukuyu, hence perhaps his hesitation in preferring a charge of witchcraft; in more remote parts cases concerning witchcraft are taken to the courts. Nsoma explained: 'We judge cases concerning witchcraft openly, but we do not have them written in the court book. When "a defender" has won his fellow dwelling someone he tells us, and we judge that witch. It is "the defenders" who are the witches. Perhaps "the defender" comes out of his house by night and calls out: "I am so and so dwelling so and so! Listen to-morrow!" Yes, that happens nowadays. When someone tells us this we agree, the witch is convicted, even though he denies it. We say: "You are a witch, a thief, even though you do not admit it, get out of the country." Formerly when the accused denied he was a witch they went to the ordeal, and the ordeal caught the witch, now, since the Europeans have forbidden the use of ordeals, we accept the word of "the defenders". For you have the defenders as the witches' lie detector!' 'What about the man who accused the wife of Mwakwelo?' we asked. 'He denied it, he said: "I did not see her". So on that account we said: "Since you have slandered her you must pay thirty shillings." If he had really seen her and told us properly we should have decided against the woman and divorced her from her husband, but he denied it, saying: "I did not see her", and we all said: "The woman is not a witch, who has seen her?" And if a man is fined because he has accused his fellow of witchcraft without seeing him really, we do not write that in the book either.'

Formerly, when a man was convicted of witchcraft, and did not admit it, he was compelled to move from his village, and often to leave the chiefdom altogether. Often his cattle and crops were taken by the chief, who killed one or more for 'the innocent' to eat. No compensation was paid to relatives as in an ordinary

[1] Cf. Monica Wilson, 'Witch-finding' in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*.

homicide. 'War is opened by day!' say the Nyakyusa. On the other hand, if relatives themselves brought the accusation, the chief could not take the accused's property. Since kinsmen themselves were driving the man out, whose property should the chief take? Everything went to the kinsmen, save one cow, which they gave the man they were driving out, that he might start a herd in his new home. A wife convicted of witchcraft was commonly divorced, being sent back to her father, who had then to return the marriage-cattle given for her. Rarely was a supposed witch killed.

As we have seen, supposed witches are still often banished if men, or divorced if women, but property is no longer seized, the practice having been effectively stopped by the British Administration. There is considerable variation in the actual treatment of supposed witches at the present time. Some husbands do not divorce their wives when they are convicted of witchcraft, others do so immediately; some chiefs drive supposed witches out of their country, and others allow them to settle in another village of the chiefdom. We have no evidence that those who are supposed to have killed others by witchcraft are usually treated more severely than those whose crime is causing sickness or a decrease in the milk supply. The punishment seems to vary, and to have varied formerly, rather with the status and personal popularity of the accused in his village, or with the affection a man has for his wife, than with the nature of the crime.

Those who have been convicted of witchcraft are not ostracized. A wife divorced on account of her witchcraft commonly remarries soon after; a man driven out for witchcraft is admitted to another village. The attitude is: 'Perhaps he bewitched his fellows there, we do not know, but to us he not bewitched us.' Often a man who has been driven away by neighbours is invited back again, a year or more later. Such was the case with the village headman Mwanila, who went to his chief and said: 'People are eating your child'—one of the chief's children had a disease of the eye which blinded him. The chief ordered his people (i.e. their representatives) to take the ordeal. Then all were angry at Mwanila for going to the chief, because he went alone to whisper about them. Had he gone with others they would have been satisfied, but to go alone was not right. The ordeal indicated Mwanila himself, and the chief took all his four

1:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

crown. No, they did not take his food and mats, was he not a village headman? He moved, but, after one year only, they went to fetch him back.'

Here, in the accusation against a village headman, who, by virtue of his office has the power of defence and of bringing 'the breath' on wrong-doers, we come to the root of the ambivalence towards those accused of witchcraft. Witches are dangerous, but the very power which makes them dangerous also makes them valuable as 'defenders', for no distinction between the power of attack and defence is consistently maintained. The essential difference lies in the use of the power. Hence, Mwaisumo declared, people actually like it when a man who has admitted witchcraft builds among them. 'They say he has the power of defence, and they think that a man who has once admitted witchcraft will not throttle them.' A parallel attitude towards homicides and cattle-thieves existed in the traditional culture, when chiefs were sometimes urged to rescue a homicide from the vengeance of a dead man's kin, or a cattle-thief from enraged victims, on the grounds that one who had proved himself such a fierce warrior (by killing another) or so skilful in lifting cattle, was too useful in war to be lost to the chiefdom.

Nevertheless, if a person who has once been accused of witchcraft makes himself (or herself) unpopular again, the old case is raked up against him or her, and there are men who have been driven from one chiefdom to another, each time accused by their neighbours, and wives who have been divorced for witchcraft by one husband after another. This is the terrible fate held up before 'proud' children.

And what of the slur on the family when a member is convicted of witchcraft? We have seen that witchcraft is considered hereditary in all but a few exceptional cases, and the stock reaction to an accusation is: 'We are astounded! No one in our family has ever been convicted of witchcraft!' In practice, parents are loath to allow a son or daughter to marry into a family in which either parent has a reputation of witchcraft; two or three cases were cited in which parents had opposed a marriage for this reason (*vide* Document, p. 232). But such arguments are private within the family, and the family feared by one group of neighbours need not be considered dangerous by people from another village. Since practically every adult marries at least once, the

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

which witchcraft and 'the breath of men' operate, but their supposed fields of action are relatively distinct.

In the past, the punishment for sorcery was death with torture by impaling, not merely confiscation of property and banishment. Proof of the practice of sorcery depended upon the evidence of the doctor who had supplied the medicine (who was not regarded as implicated in the crime) and upon the *mwavi* ordeal. The Nyakyusa insist that the practice of sorcery was formerly rare, and that it has increased enormously, much more than the practice of witchcraft. This belief is to be related to two facts. First, Nyakyusa co-operate much more than they formerly did with people who live in different villages. The clerks who work together in Government offices, and who have a fearsome reputation as sorcerers, do not necessarily live in the same village; and being apart at night when the witches fly, they cannot be supposed to bewitch one another. But there is frequent occasion for friction between them and therefore a standing temptation to employ sorcery. So also in other types of employment, in trade and on journeys, individuals are frequently in contact with men of different villages. Secondly, belief in sorcery is felt to be compatible with the acceptance of a scientific explanation of causes of disease in a way that belief in witchcraft is not. *Ubutege* is commonly translated as 'poisoning' by those who speak English, whether the medicine is or is not put into food or drink, or whether it is supposed to affect all who eat it or only the individual against whom it is directed. All types of sorcery tend to be rationalized as 'poisoning'; and many educated Nyakyusa who deny the reality of witchcraft admit to a lively fear of sorcerers.

As the table on pp. 198–213 shows, however, accusations of witchcraft are still much more common than accusations of sorcery in the community as a whole. We heard of thirty-eight cases of supposed witchcraft to eleven of sorcery, and there was no reason to think that our friends were more likely to mention the one type of case than the other.

d. The age-village and Christianity

Since common action against witches, and to punish transgressors through 'the breath of men', is one of the primary functions of an age-village, what happens in a Christian village, or

1:Wilson E.-5(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

4. A BOUNDARY DISPUTE

Heard by the Lupuru Court (president, Mwangomo), 16/3/35.

Man A brought case against man B for assault.

Plaintiff and defendant gave their accounts, and also Mwangomo, *chief of the country concerned.*

A and B had quarrelled over the boundary of their adjoining home-steads, which are in different villages of the same chiefdom. There was an old quarrel about the boundary of the village. Mwangomo stated: "The week before this quarrel I went with my brothers and the young village headmen (leaving behind the old village headmen because I thought they would quarrel) to settle the dispute. We walked over the boundary and said to the people concerned: 'It is here.'

"A and his two friends (not in court) were not satisfied with my demarcation and grumbled openly saying: 'Who is Mwangomo to take from us the place where our fathers lived, and from which they ate the bananas, and give it to our neighbours? We will take it and not care for Mwangomo' . . . or again: 'We do not believe that Mwangomo really decided like this, we shall act as if the law was as before.' So when I heard that they were talking like this I asked all the people to watch for any man who might do anything against the decision, and I told one man in particular to watch."

A and B gave evidence, telling much the same story.

A went to cut the banana leaves (*i.e* prune) on the old boundary, with a bill-hook (*isenge*), and B came and told him to stop. They quarrelled, each claiming that the land had been his father's, and that his father had sown the bananas on it. Then B caught hold of the bill-hook, and in the struggle A was cut. A now brings a case for assault against B.

Mwangomo: 'B is in the right, and what makes it worse is that since his father died A has never been in the country. He has lived in MuNgonde (the Lake-shore plain); he has only been back a few days in my country and he brings war into it and spoils it.' Mwangomo spoke angrily, and asked that A should be imprisoned.

The Court: 'We follow what you, the chief, say; if people resist you and speak against you it is very bad, but we disagree about imprisoning him, he has only just returned to the country and it is not a good custom to imprison a man who has only just come to a country. Bring his two friends who have lived long in your country.'

[p.191]

I:Wilson E-9(1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngombe FN17
Nyakyusa

Mwakinyo (another chief sitting in court): 'What about the other man you drove away without bringing him into court? Mwangonio has approached the council, he should have called all the men from both villages together and judged the case there.'

The Court, to A: 'Where have you been staying since the fight? Where have you put all your things?'

A: 'In Mwangoko's country.'

Court: 'You mean that Mwangonio had driven you out?'

A: 'Yes.'

The Court: 'Then if you have left the country why do you bring this case, troubling us?'

Mwangonio then decided to drive A and his two friends out of the country and said nothing more about punishing A. So the case ended.

L Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1931 File? Ngendo File?
Nyakyusa

60. THREATS OF WITCHCRAFT

Mwaisumo (chief).

"It is said that some witches show themselves openly. When he is angry with his fellow a witch may say openly "*Ulipendi?*" (literally: "What are you?") and his fellow takes it in the evening, evidence falls on him. Or one who makes love to a woman repeatedly and is refused by her, may say: "Woman, what are you? (*ulipendi?*) You are very proud, you fancy yourself, thinking that you are more beautiful than all others. Dance and show off—we shall see in what a pleasant fashion."

"It is now forbidden, as it was in the past, to swear at (*ukufingai*) a person without cause, saying: "What are you?" If someone speaks before others, and the person sworn at is quarrelsome, the man who swears is fined. The man sworn at will go to law, saying: "My fellow swears at me; I do not know what I have taken of his, he wants to make me ill by swearing at me." Sometimes, also, if he does not wish to be paid, he calls one before the court, or before neighbours to say: "The fellow of mine has sworn at me, if anything happens it is he who is responsible." Meaning that if he falls ill that evening it is this fellow who has sworn the illness. And some, when they have sworn, make a case, saying: "It is this fellow", and bring him before the village headmen accusing him. If he is found guilty he will pay perhaps a bull. Such tales are told, especially by our mothers, making us in childhood that it is forbidden to threaten a friend with witchcraft (*ukwafingo umuno halisi*).[1] If you swear at your friend and he falls ill that evening then he will say it was you who swore at him.

"But there are some who wish to be feared and thought witches who constantly threaten people. Such a man says: "What are you? You may sleep or may not (*ukilugone*), I do not know!" but in great secrecy. Or perhaps sometimes he speaks, saying: "You! Leave me!" He knows that those who are there will tell (his enemy)."

Andendeka (a young Christian man).

"Some boast of witchcraft, they praise themselves on account of knowledge, or food, or their homestead . . . saying that no one else has built so well; others praise themselves on account of their fields,

[1] (*Ukufingai mumo to swear to a statement. In this context it is better translated "to threaten".*

69. PROCEEDINGS IN A WITCHCRAFT CASE (TRADITIONAL)

Rhodesia (doctor, brother of a chief).

"The custom was that if a man was accused of witchcraft he always went to the chief and said: 'They have accused me of witchcraft. Please give me witnesses.' The chief would send all the men with his servant and with witnesses to the doctor. If the accuser was proved wrong he had to pay four or five cows, or if he had no cows, a girl, and then after she had borne a child the accused would come to pay cows and be a relative to the end.

"If the ordeal (*mwavi*) convicted both, neither vomiting, the chief would be angry and say: 'You are both witches.' Then each would pay four cows to the chief who would kill two from each of the four or his men to eat, and both men would move from the country. If both vomited the chief would say: 'You are finks, be friendly,' and the village headmen would say: 'Yes, but the accuser must pay cows to the accused for accusing him.'

"Men never went to drink the ordeal without first going to the chief.

"Sometimes the one convicted as a witch was speared and all his cows taken by the chief—none went to the accuser. If the accuser was caught and the accused vomited, four cows went to the accused, and six others to the chief because the accuser was himself a witch. Some who were great witches died of the ordeal."

Rhodesians (chief).

"There was a nasty little chap (*kalilo chanda kamo*[1]) who came from the hills to live at Bijilla, and who built next door to father. This chap was very poor; mother and the other villagers always gave him food. I remember the chap very well—he was very dirty in his person.

"Well, once there was complaint (*chenjelele*) because the milk supply in the village was small. So this chap fortified himself within and said: 'Do not go on complaining, cows of Kibalia, I have seen the witch who is throttling the cows. It is Kimpungal Catch her, and let her drink *mwavi*.' Mother was astounded at being taken; she was dumbfounded at being "caught" for witchcraft, for in her lineage no one had ever been caught. So there she also said: "Indeed, my husbands,

[1] Rhodesians speaks of him as a thing rather than a person.

I:Wilson E-5(1926-1928)1951 FN17 Ngombe FN17
Nyanyuca

3a. DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO 'THE BONE'

Mwaluma (clan).

754 "My mother's brother died from the sorcery (*ubuloge*) of Mwabalilu
● 483 the younger. His death came about in this way: He had run off with a woman whose name I have forgotten now, and the "owner" of the woman continually uttered "the bone" that all those concerned should die, if they did not return his wife. Almost immediately my uncle fell ill and died; shortly afterwards the child of his elder brother, Mwakyembe, fell ill and died three days later. Then we understood that it was this woman who brought the illness, for her husband boasted to people that it was he who had killed members of our family. We drove away the woman in order to end the sickness among us. Perhaps if we had not sent her away the illness would have spread and killed many of us and our wives also."

[p.256]

I:Wilson E-5(1934-1938)1951 PN17 Ngonde PN17
Nyakyusa

5a. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN PAGANS AND CHRISTIANS

a. *Christian suing a pagan*

Penjudge (Christian court).

691 693 "Ailasile (a Christian elder) and Kajolamalawo (a pagan) had a dispute. Cattle belonging to Ailasile and his fellows ate Kajolamalawo's crop. Ailasile went to drive the cattle out of the field and Kalolamalawo met him as he was driving them out. Kajolamalawo swore at Ailasile. So Ailasile got angry and went to the chief, the chief took the case to Court and Kajolamalawo was found guilty and ordered to pay cow. He paid up and the case was finished."

b. *Arbitration between pagan and Christian*

627 686 "L. (a Christian preacher) when he was visiting the Ngoni[1] in the bush country bought rice from a pagan Ngoni, Mwasuna, and promised to pay him later on. He was a long time in paying his debt so the Ngoni went to Ulindala, an elderly Christian living near L., saying: "L. has my shilling. He took my rice." L. agreed that he owed the Ngoni a shilling; he said that he had not yet got the money, but would get it very soon. The Ngoni went home and after some time, as he was not paid, he came again. Ulindala tried to pacify him. The Ngoni said: "If the case defeats you, I shall go to Court." So Ulindala called his fellows Rhawlwa and Hosiah to pacify the Ngoni, and the latter agreed to wait; but still L. did not pay up. So when the missionary visited, the Ngoni took the case to him. How it was decided (by the missionary) no one knows."

c. *Pagan suing a Christian*

Mwaisowo (clerk).

691 683 "Mwasenge, a pagan man, has a young son who was once bathing in a stream when Asangiaye, a Christian, came down to bathe also. Asangiaye said to the boy: "Get out, I want to bathe." The boy replied: "See, I was bathing here first", at which Asangiaye got angry and beat the boy.

"Then Mwasenge and his son hastened to Mundekaye's court

[1] There are one or two villages of Ngoni immigrants in the strip of unoccupied bush country between Selya and the Lake-shore plain. They mix very little with the Nyakyusa.

1. Wilson E.-S (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Uganda FN17
Nyakyusa

(*title supra*) and Mundekaya tried the case with his friends and judged that Asangiaye should pay two shillings. Asangiaye refused to pay, so Mundekaya took the case to Mwangonso (the chief in whose country the land on which the Christian village Asangiaye lived is situated) and there judgement was given that Asangiaye should pay three shillings. Asangiaye agreed to do so.' 691 683

I: Wilson E-3 (1934-1938) 1931 FW17 Ngonde FW17
Nyangwa

"You're making love to my wife", and the man who made the accusation was from the family of the chief. On account of this, they said: "The chief is driving us out. Let us move." All three moved because of this case and are building here. Of the three friends who were supposed to be enticing the minor chief's wife, one had been found at night time in the suspected woman's hut, and had been fined ten. for "making love to the woman" though they had not been found together."

Record of C. W., 20/2/32 (from various informants).

"The chief Mwaipopo was sick, and living "in the forest", i.e. in a recently settled and cultivated area at a distance from the main population of his chiefdom. Nsoma, one of the headmen of his chiefdowry area and late Mwenkuga (cf. p. 183) went to see him. On his return Nsoma said to Mwenkuga: "Mwaipopo told me that you, Mwenkuga, were poisoning him. Mwkanyonale (a doctor) says that your doctors are in the hills, you went to fetch them there." Then Mwenkuga went to his father Mwaipopo and asked him: "Is it true that you are accusing me of working sorcery against you? Do you say so yourself?"

"Mwaipopo said: "Who told you of this Mwenkuga?"

"Mwenkuga: "Nsoma told me."

"Mwaipopo: "It was Nsoma who told me that you were working sorcery against me! Go and ask him about it, and have it out with him."

"So Mwenkuga took the case to Mwakiniya (another chief) for arbitration.

"Mwakiniya said: "Nsoma is in the wrong and must pay a cow to his chief Mwenkuga."

Nsoma refused.

"So Mwakiniya said: "All right, we shall go to those who know about the case", and he came with all his men to Mwenzapopo, Mwaipopo's senior village headman (i.e. the representative of Mwanamba, *vide* p. 181). There a witness gave evidence, saying: "I was with Mwenkuga when Nsoma told him that Mwaipopo accused him of sorcery." Nsoma denied it.

"Mwakiniya said: "I, Mwakiniya, I have finished, Nsoma must pay a cow."

"Nsoma still refused.

"Mwenkuga: "Your honour the judge, and others. I have cows, I shall not ask for his cow, but let him leave my country and build elsewhere."

"Nsoma replied that he was living near Mwaipopo in the forest, and

sleeping there, and he refused to move. Then Nnam wrote a letter (he begged a sheet of paper from the clerk of the court and got a Christian, Mwaigwe, to write for him) and sent it to Tukuyu (i.e. to the District Office); all the village headmen were very angry.

"Then one of Nnam's cows fell into a crater-lake and was drowned. An enquiry was done and "wounds" were found in the animal's stomach. It was said that it had been killed by witchcraft. Nnam moved to Mbambo, because, he said, "They are killing my cows". Then Mwaipopo invited him to build in the forest. Nnam replied that he would prefer to go home, and Mwaipopo agreed, but said he must first pay two cows. "I," said Mwaipopo, "am satisfied, but your friends there are angry, you have done wrong to Mwaikaga; you can go if you pay two cows." Nnam refused and got angry and wrote to Tukuyu again, saying: "Mwaipopo never comes to Court. He spends all his time drinking in the forest, and I, Nnam, have judged all the cases myself in Court. Now that I am away from Court the cases are not judged; all is silent."

"The clerks at Tukuyu recognized that the stamp and the hand-writing were not those of the court clerk, so they wrote to Mwaipopo. He was angry and imprisoned Nnam for three months. The District Officer advised Mwaipopo not to let Nnam return to his country, as when he came out of prison Nnam built in the country of Mwangomo. This was a year or so ago, and the day before yesterday the village headmen went to fetch him. He is here, sleeping in the house of Kasisi, in Igumbo. Eight men went to fetch Nnam, carrying his household stuff and driving back the cattle. (We saw them.) "Yes, Mwaipopo must have agreed, for if a chief drives away a man no commoner can take the initiative in fetching him back."

"Nnam killed a bull and also provided two pots of beer, one for the men of Igumbo and one for the men of Lugumbo. His own village was Lugumbo, together with Ifiki (cf. p. 183). He killed the bull at the house of Kasisi where he is staying. He has not yet been given a homestead."

J. Wilson E-9 (1924-1938)1957 FNIT Ngondo FNIT
Nyakyusa
Exhibit

[5] kind. We take such a one [either type] to a doctor, tying a rope round
77 his waist on the way. For if we leave him free he goes and drowns him-
self in the lake. So then the doctor says 'His heart has suddenly turned
over', and gives him a powdered medicine to eat from a bark-cloth.
Then when he has eaten the medicine the doctor puts a finger at the
back of his tongue to make him vomit, again and again. So then the
filth comes out of him. Then the doctor says: 'Don't eat meat or fish
until I give you other medicine later.' Then he ties some of the same
medicine in two bark-cloths and ties one round his neck, one round his
loins. . . .

[11] Sometimes a man in the mad fit finds a woman, then he takes the
68 leaves off his waist, catches hold of her and, forcing her to the ground,
has intercourse with her. Then when the woman returns home she
complains that a man in the mad fit has caught and raped her. Then
her husband says: 'Well, it's all over now. If he'd been in normal
health I'd have sued him for a cow for adultery before the chief, but
seeing he is mad there's no point in my doing so, it's all over now!' . . .

[12] Sometimes madness comes by itself, although no ritual has been
77 performed, sometimes because they have not performed a ritual. The
symptoms of the two kinds are exactly the same, their cause is different.
The one connected with ritual comes because the shades are angry:
'Why have you left that child untreated, without putting ocwa on its
head . . . ? It seems it is of no account.' And then the child goes mad.

[13] When madness comes of itself the doctor takes the patient to a
783 waterfall and lets the water tumble on his head; then he makes him
vomit, and the vomit is carried away in the water. But that which
comes from ritual they don't treat in this way; they make him vomit
at home, and then perform the ritual for him.

[15] Sometimes madness brings visions (mjini)—the man lets everything
787 come in his speech and says of people: 'What sort are they? They are
witches!' And if there is a gathering he speaks out: 'You are a witch—
you bewitch your neighbour's cows!' So then people ask what he means
by letting everything come in his speech like this, and they are told he
has the mad fit on him. The madness gives him power to see the
witches, he sees them surely. And of old if a madman with the fit on
him accused you of witchcraft you would go at once to drink the ordeal.
● [19] And if the ordeal accused you too then your house was burnt over you!

764 QUESTION: Why the washing and eating porridge?

MWAKALEMBA: If we don't do this then the children will vomit a watery fluid.

I put a direct question to him about the sausages of porridge and he admitted with a smile, rather an embarrassed one: 'Yes, well, you have understood it; yes, it is a symbol of eating excrement . . . we do it at night.'

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
F7817 Sigcode F7817

682 759 be convinced that the real facts are otherwise than as I have stated. The clumsy methods of murder favoured by the cleverest of European criminals take an inferior place before the successful malignity of this kind of thing.

683 754 627 *Witchcraft.*—No crime is regarded with so much abhorrence among Bantu peoples as the crime of witchcraft. It is a crime against the whole community, anti-social, destructive; and the punishment, in many cases, was death. That punishment cannot now be inflicted, but a recent Ordinance against pretended witchcraft has given much satisfaction to the people, even although the punishment is less than they think the crime demands. To them there is no pretence about it; it is a grave reality. If the poison cup proved a person guilty, he was immediately attacked with any weapon that came handy, and as a rule he was dead before he reached the end of the gauntlet; but if, as now and again happened, he got off alive, he lost no time in getting away to another district. In the not so very remote past, the guilty person was burned to death in his own house, and not always did his family escape a like fate. A special punishment was reserved for witchcraft by crocodile. This particular crime consists in bewitching a crocodile to kill an enemy. The criminal, when discovered, was put into the water in a large fish-trap, and left there until a crocodile came and made an end.

684 *Adultery.*—This offence is said to have increased greatly since the coming of the white man, who will not permit the death penalty to be inflicted. But the

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
F3017 Sigonde F3017

of witchcraft is made. The people are assembled by order of the chief, and the woman walks slowly round the circle, gazing into the eyes of each person, and eliminating the innocent one by one, using no other test than the look in the individual's eyes. Those who remain are guilty. 254 685

Prosperity in another arouses all the evil passions of witches and wizards. But prosperity in itself was, until lately, evidence that the prosperous person was himself a wizard. There is a woman living not far from me who was accused before the British magistrate of pretending to exercise witchcraft, and to obtain cattle and other goods by threatening violence. She was dismissed on technical grounds, but ordered not to return to her own district. In conversation with her after the trial she told me that it was only the presence of the white man that saved her from being burned alive as a witch; the evidence against her being the rapid increase of her live stock. But the increase, she assured me, was "the gift of God." 754 578

Death by burning was the ancient penalty when that was inflicted publicly; but when the witches or wizards themselves undertook to kill a fellow-sorcerer in jealousy, they did it in another way. Leaving their bodies behind them, they go to the house of the victim, enter by the roof, disturbing nothing; and finally enter the stomach of the sleeping person. Thence they wander about to lungs, heart, or liver, and wound him with their "secret spears." Next day the man is ill, and the day following he dies. If the *post mortem* reveals ulcers on heart, lungs, or liver, [683] 754